SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

MDITCHIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS PPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

"Democracy is Revolution."

Democracy is revolution. It is idle to say that the men who nombrated Francis P. Braindle not understand his postform. He is asknewed man, and the representative of a family of more than ordinary polatical sagastry. He know perfectly well, when he desired himself in favor of military interfacence with the Southern States, that he was appearing to the convictions of the Democratic party. He came to them bearing an honored sword; it was only by surrendering it, and offering to Jain a dispondred. From the N. Y. World. bearing an nonored rendering to John a disnonored conspiracy, that he could flud welcome and advancement. We have seen what a resolute but surposeless man like Johnson could do in distracting the nation. With Blair as President, or rather with the party he represents in sower with friends in thoughest. as President, or In her with the party he represents in power, with friends in Congress, and Sensiors like Fessenden and Trumbull and Henderson, in the perpetual agony of pieus and staintes, he could with impanity assail the work of reconstruction and order his military commanders to discerse the Legislatures of the South. Would the "reaction" stop here? We remember that the restoration of the Represent proports a worke feature of Burhere? We remember that the restoration of the Bourbons brought a worse feature of Bourbonish tran that of Louis XIV. One restoration of Democracy means the resuscitation of the slave power with the strength of anger and vengance, and without the restraining influences of property. There is nothing positive in the Democratic policy but vengance and revolution, and General Blair is the representative of that feeling. The party has no sympathy with any sentiment of progress. It has an apolosy for every victory, and a regret for every triumph.—N. Y. Tribme. every triumph .- N. Y. Tribune.

-The Tribune permits its partisan heat to carry it beyond the limits of canior. If what has been done in the South is right, it ought to stand; not otherwise. To prove that it is not right, we can cite a witness to which the Tribune cannot consistently object-the Tri-Lune itself. But it is necessary to go back some eighteen or twenty months.

Shortly before the assembling of the Legislature which elected Mr. Conkling to the United States Senate, there was a good deal of floating talk which connected the name of Mr. Greeley with that position. With the coyness which marks his conduct on such occasions. Mr. Greeley made his preparations to spend that winter lecturing in the West, and avoid the appearance of taking an active part in pressing his own claims. Shostly before leaving, he printed in the Tri-bune a striking and memorable article which placed him in pronounced antagonism to his ewn party, and which, he must have been conscious, extinguished whatever chances he may have had of election to the Senator-We allude to these facts because it is fair to presume that what was written on such an occasion, was written with the utmost deliberation, and expressed the settled conviction of the writer.

Mr. Greeley's election to the Senate was made impossible by his proclaimed dissent from leading features of the policy of the Republican party. Nor was it merely on that occasion that he set forth his dissent. The views he then expressed had been again and again presented in the Tribune, and a part of them were subsequently reiterated on an occasion even more memerable-in repelling the assaults of his party for signing the bail bond of Jefferson Davis. We do not see how he can reasonably object to so much of the Democratic platform as coincides with his own well-known and unrecanted opinions.

His creed, habitually condensed by himself into the brevity of a motto, was "Universal Amnesty and Impartial Suffrage." He remonstrated with great force of argument and headstrong fervor against the impolicy, and what he then regarded as the futility, of excluding the leading citizens of the South from active participation in the politics of their section. He did not think it essential that all the negroes should vote, but only such part of them as should be found to possess reasonable qualifications of intelligence. We meed not say that this was quite a different scheme from the actual Reconstruction policy which the Republican party now ask the people to indorse. It condemned not only the revolutionary reconstruction policy which has been executed at the point of the bayonet, but the proposed constitutional amendment which preceded it; the so-called fourteenth amendment being inconsistent with Mr. Greeley's principle of universal amnesty. We need not point out in detail how his views clashed with the policy of his party; his sacrifice of his chances to be a Senator, and the bitter obloquy he encountered, sufficiently attesting the col-

Now, with what consistency can be denounce as "revolutionary" an attempt to undo what, in his opinion, ought never to have been done? In his opin on, the disfranchisement of the leading Southern whites was an unwise and mistaken policy; how then can he object to its reversal? In his opinion, the security of the negro race did not require that all of them should vote, but only those who are qualified; why then should he regard as a calamity the prospect of restoring things to the basis which he imself proposed as a set-tlement of our difficulties?

The success of the Democratic party in the coming Presidential election would practically carry out Mr. Greeley's policy of universal amnesty. This would indeed be a "revo-Intion" in the sense of untoing the proscriptive policy of the R-publican party; but as that prescriptive policy was wrong, why should Mr. Greeley regret the triumph of a principle for which he has se strenuously contended, and has encountered so much obloquy? As, by his own showing, his party made a mistake, why should not the mistake be rectified in obedience to the sovereign will of the American people? It would be a strange doctrine, indeed, that nothing is ever to be reversed which an unserupulous and impetuous faction, in temporary possession of power, may choose to decree. And if the mistaken proscriptive policy of the Republicans in reference to the Southern whites may be properly reversed, why not also its mistake of admitting all the negroes "at one fell swoop" to the elecrive franchise? The care with which the Tribune discriminated between impartial and universal guffrage, advocating only the former, may be taken as a proof that the reconstruction policy of Congress is wrong; and the sovereign people may as freely rectify the errors of their transient rulers as exercise their sovereignty in any other way. The reconstruction measures have never yet been pronounced upon by the people; and if the unauthorized acts of their representatives are not subject to revigion and reversal, the responsibility of representatives to their constituents is a phrase without meaning.

The Campaign in New York-Grant and Griswold-Free Liquor and Free Lager.

From the N. Y. Heraid. The State of New York is to be the great battle ground in the approaching Presidential struggle, and will be hotly contested, inas-much as without the electoral vote of New York it would be utterly impossible to elect the Democratic candidates any way. As the Irish and Germans hold the balance of power in New York it may happen, singularly enough. that our adopted fellow-citizens may be called upon to decide who shall be the next President of the United States. It was their vote

that turned the State last fall over to the De-

meeracy by a majority of 50,000, the whole of repudiation. While pretending to desire which was secured in the cities of New York peace, he neither accepts the work of reconand Brooklyn; and the principal incentive to struction nor attempts to restrain the mad the solid movement of the foreign element at that time was the offensive fauntical legislation of the Republican party in regard to liquor, lager and the Sabbath. But the Democrata who were elected last year by the Irish and German votes cheated their friends and proved false to all the pledges they made before they got into power. The radicals originally passed the Metropolitan Excise law, it is true; but the I emocrate, by refusing last year to amend it or in any manner to chauge its odious tentures, became its parent by adoption; and its unjust and exo bitant fees, its detestable spy system, its blue light Sanday regulations, which they failed to alter when they had the power to do so, are now to be laid at the doors of the Tammany De nogracy.

The honor question is not the sole inducement with citizens of Irish birth or parentage to support the Republican ticket this fall in preference to that of the Democratic party. Iwo years ago the Irish Fenian vote beat Hoffman for Governor, and elected Fenton, on the ground that the Republican State Government, by refusing to interfere with the raids upon the Canada border, had done more to ractically help the hereditary enemies of creat Britain than had ever been done by the Democrats, with all their professions of sympathy with the Irish. It is well known that Seperal Grant, as an American soldier, would have no objection to a war with England during his term of office, and would, at all events, evince no disposition to allow the British Government to trifle with us upon any of the important international questions acising out of the war of the Rebellion. General Grant, who fought that war through to a successful termination, would not be very likely to mince matters with the nation that sympathized with the Rebels from first to last, and went as far as their courage permitted them in aid of the Confederate cause.

These considerations, joined with the fact that Grant is a firm believer in free liquor, good liquor, and plenty of it, and that Griswold is a perfect King Gambrinus in regard to lager, which he deals out with a liberal hand to his army of employes, will be very likely to turn the Irish and German vote over to the Republicans as solidly as last year it was cast for the Democrats, and to give the State to Grant and Griswold by fifty thousand majority. Seymour and Hoffman, the Tammany candidate for Governor, are both Puritanical in their notions and live upon cold water and weak tea. Hoffman, we believe, did attempt a glass of lager at a German meeting during the campaign of 1866, but was compelled after drinking it to go home to bed and send for his family physician. Grant on the other hand, would scorn to drink water without something in it, and when Griswold built the monitor for the Government, in the early part of the war, he succeeded in pushing forward the work to a speedy conclusion by distributing free lager in unlimited quantities among his men. The Irish and Germans naturally sympathize with the men who fought out the war for the Union, and as the Republicans have now presented to them a liberal liquor and lager ticket for their support, free from all the offensive characteristics of straight-laced, New England radicalism, it is very likely that the entire naturalized vote in New York will turn over to that side, and by electing Grant and Griswold will forever wipe out of the Republican party Fourierism, free love, and fanaticism of every sort and description.

The Democratic Nominee.

From the N. Y. Times. If hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue, what term shall fully describe the efforts of Democratic journals to pervert or combination which controlled the nomination. The Copperheadism which carried the day in the Convention must be hard pressed when it opens the canvass with an effort to prove that Mr. Seymour was a zealous War Democrat. Such, however, is the plea with which friendly journals open their advocacy of Mr. Seymour's

The Boston Post pushes its zeal still further. It not only insists that its candidate's war record is satisfactory, but it represents the Republican indictment against him as consisting of but two insignificant charges.

"Two points of attack have been singled out by the managers of the Opposition. One is that Governor Seymour, in his Fourth of July ad-dress in 1-63, placed himself as the Governor of New York in an attitude of quast hostility, if not se nal hostility, to his country, then strug-gling almost hopelessly with armed repellion. The other is, that in addressing the New York The other is, that in addressing the New York rioters, and the excited populace who followed in their train, during the same month, he gave them assurance of his 'friendsulp,' by applying to them the familiar title of 'my friends.' These are the counts in 'he radical indictment which those who prefer them expect to employ with success in demonstrating Mr. Seymour's unfitness for the position to which he has been nominated."

If these were the only or the main points of attack, Mr. Seymour's position would be much stronger than it is. The Fourth of July speech is, indeed, a link in a long chain of evidence proving the spirit which actuated him; but to this, or any single speech, we attach comparatively little importance. So, also, with the well-worn statement about "my friends." Its in port has always been exaggerated, and we should be content to see the canvass carried on without any reference to a phra-e which, of itself, indicated neither complicity with the rioters, nor approval of their course.

Our opposition to Mr. Seymour rests upon a much broader basis. The indictment against him is founded on his general conduct in relation to the war, both in and out of office. We can dispense with this or that speech, and still find ample reasons for condemnation in his notorious hostility to the means employed for the preservation of the Union, in but effectively rendered to the Rebel cause. He was a "peace Democrat" from the start. He never acknowledged the right of the Federal Government to prevent disruption by force. His utterances and action encouraged the South; for though, as State Executive, he responded to calls for troops, it was in the performance of an inevitable duty, while his whole moral weight was thown into the opposite scale. Hence he is chargeable with having fostered the Copperheadism which en barrassed the Government, and stimulated the passions which had expression in the York riot. Hence, too, the mistrast with which all but the Copperhead element of the party has since regarded Mr. Seymour, and his failure to carry the State when last

nominated for the Governorship. Moreover, the present supplies all that should be necessary to defeat Mr. Seymour. Argument about the past is well in its way, but the strongest argument is that which is derived from his position in regard to the great questions before the country. He has made himself a party to the revolutionary programme which enabled Mr. Blair to distance competitors, and is the exponent of a policy which menaces the country with strife and dishener. His oracular utteracces on the bond and currency questions have not hin-

nese which threatens its violent overthrow.

When we refer to Mr. seymour's record, then it is not with the view of making that the sole or even the principal ground of accu-ation. But in his case the past helps to elucidate the present. His attitude five years ago makes more apparent the meaning of his attitude at this moment. We see that the Copperheadism of the New York Convention harmonizes with the Copperheadism of the Governorship; and we see in both, combined, the stronges possible reasons for excluding from the Presidency the representative of principles at variance with peace. Personally and privately, Mr. Seymour may merit the landstions of his friends. We have to do with him simply as a public man, whose political career in this State disentitles him to the confidence of moderate and loyal men, and whose present candidature commits him to an extreme and dangerous policy.

Why is it a Blunder?

From the N. Y. Tribune. There is perfect accord among those who are not restrained by fealty and party necessity from avowing their convictions in averring that the late Democratic National Convention blundered sadly. Every one who feels at liberty to say what he thinks says this, because every one feels it. "How could they have thrown away their chance of success?" is the universal inquiry. Here were collected over six hundred delegates from every section of our country; many of them men of decided ability; nearly all of them experienced politicians. The Rebel Congress was largely, the Rebel army still more bounteously represented; and the Rebel chiefs are generally shrewd men. Add to these most of the caudidates for Governor, Congress, etc. etc., in the loyal States who have been defeated or run out during the last seven years, from Horatio Seymour and Judge Woodward down to Vallandighan and prisoner Mahony, and you would suppose that here was collected wit enough to keep out of the fire. And yet they walked right into it! What is the explanation of this? Conventions generally nominate to win; why did this one violate the rule so flagrantly that even the British Tory oracles

give up the contest as hopeless? These questions answer themselves when we have realized that the case of the sham Democracy was essentially hopeless, and only to be retrieved by an adroit, masterly juggle. And there were powerful and implacable factions among the delegates, each more intent on its own special sud than on a party triumph.

-which hate the Republicans implacably-

Mr. Pendleton was the candidate of the strongest and most positive interest in the Convention-that whose primary object is the virtual repudiation of the national debt. But for the two-thirds rule, we think he might have been nominated. Every delegate from the South would have heartily supported him from first to last, had his success been proba-But his greenback dodge had been systematically frowned on by the leaders of the Eastern sham Democracy, and pointedly by Horatio Seymour. So strong a prejudice had been aroused against his "lawful money" scheme, that had he been nominated, he would probably have received no single electoral vote from the populous North and East. So his nomination was rendered impossible.

Whether Chief Justice Chase would have run better is questioned; but this, at least, was obviously true of him-had he been nominated, the result would not have been evident from the outset. We cannot doubt that the nomination of Chase was advisable; and we believe the cleverest politicians in the Convention, Seymour included, thought so. But conceal the war record of Governor Seymour? | Brick Pomeroy and his Rebel crowd wouldn't The earnestness which characterizes them is a stand it. They threatened to bolt and make tribute to the loyal sentiment of the people, a general smash if he were put up. They were which is certainly not complimentary to the strong enough to veto any nomination spe cially obnoxious to them, and they did it. So Chase went overboard.

There remained one strong combination-Hendricks for President, with Hancock or English for Vice. Hendricks is able and plausible, holds opinions substantially identical with Pendleton's, yet is by no means so obnoxious as he to Eastern prejudices. We do not believe he could have been elected—we do believe he could have made a far better run than Seymour-probably better than any competitor. Then why was he not nominated?

Because the Pendletonites wouldn't stand it. They held that he had not shown their man fair play-that he ought not to have been a candidate against Pendleton-and that they had long since resolved that, if their favorite were not nominated, Hendricks should not be. They were for Pendleton in dead earnest; if he could not be the man, they would have the nomination thrown East, so as to have a clear track for their nag in '72. Hence, when Pendleton was withdrawn, Seymour was instantly

Well; what is there bad in Seymour's nomination ?

Simply this: The country knows him. He has repratedly avowed views which others have held in reserve. His speeches, etc., supplemented by Blair's recent letter, place their party distinctly before the country on a platform which the country does not and will not accept. Their nomination was a blunder, simply because it exposes what should have been kept concealed if success were desired. It is just such a blunder as though the Cenfederate flag had been raised and saluted in proclaiming the Tammany nominations. It renders a Democratic triumph hopeless, by letting all men know exactly what a Democratic triumph would involve.

The Work of the Convention.

From the N. Y. Nation. What is perhaps the most remarkable about the Democratic Convention is that it joins issue with the Republicans on only one point, the obstacles he helped to place in the path of the Government, and the succor he indirectly national debt. Considering the number and variety of the questions which have divided the parties since 1852, the number of things in the Republican policy which the Democrats have opposed since the outbreak of the war; considering, too, the number of outrageous violations of the Constitution, and all sound principles of government, of which they acouse the Republicans through their press and through their orators, one was naturally led to expect a platform bristling with propositions which Republicans would be competled

to traverse, and on which the people would be enabled to pass at the Presidential election. For instance, we might reasonably have locked for an affirmation of the right of secession from a party which vehemently denied to the General Government the right to prevent sec-ssion by force of arms; and for a demand for compensation for the freeing of the slaves from a party which denied the validity of the Emancipation Proclamation; and for a declaration in favor of free trade from a party which has been a free trade party from its formation, and has treated the high tariffs of the last six years as monsters of absurdity; for a declaration in favor of hard money from a party which has always been the implacable foe of paper issues, and which denied the constitutionality of the issue of the legal tenders; and for a premise to undo the reconstruction work dered his indorsement of robbery and quasi- of Congress from a party which has main-

| tained, and does still persistently maintain, the illegality and oppressiveness of every step in it; and, finally, for a declaration in avor of white man's government" from a party which has always treated the mental and moral interio rity of the negro race as a fundamental political fact which there is no getting rid of, and on which all political arrangements, in a country in which both races were found, must be based. It must be admitted by anybody who is familiar with the history of the last six years, that there never was a party in a free country which suffered less from lack of controversy. In fact, we do' not recall a single case in which a party has been divided from its opponents by so many questions of the highest interest, and questions, too, which go down to the foundations of moral as well as o political science. If the Democracy only he lieves one-tenth part of what it says, no party has ever taken the field with even one-tenth as much responsibility. In the platform as it lies before us, however,

we find none of these things. The right of slaveholding and that of secession are given up on the ground that they have been "settled by the war, or by the voluntary action of the Southern States," as if a war wrongfully begun and wrongfully conducted could settle any question of constitutional or moral right, and as if the Southern States since the war-i Democratic accounts of their condition be true -have done anything voluntarily. It demands the restoration of the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, but deprives the demand of all value either to friend or fee by omitting to state what those rights are. It demands an amnesty for all political off-uses, but this can off-ud no one, as notedy has been punished for political offenses, and nobody is likely to be. It demands the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau and the reduction of the army, but the Freedmen's Bureau is already in process of abolition and provision has been made for reducing the army. The seventh article de-nounces "abuses in administration," and demands the "expulsion of corrupt men from office," one of those exceedingly amusing demands which appear regularly now in the platforms of all parties, and which, as no deender of abuses or of corrupt men ever shows himself co nomine in the flesh in the political arena, must be aimed at some ghostly organization visible only to spiritualists. The doctrine of indefeasible allegiance also, against which the eight article is aimed, now fluis no earthly supporters; the right of the States to regulate the suffrage has been formally couceded by the Republican party; and if there be anybody who proposes to have the public "forget our soldiers and sailors," or refuse to "execute the guaranties given in their favor," he has thus far managed to conceal himself from an indignant community.

Of the abuse of the Republican party, of which the latter portion of the platform is composed, it must be said that whether justifiable or unjustifiable, it offers no issues to an adversary. Neither policy nor principle can ever be wrapped up in vituperation, and the applicability of epithets is a point which can ever be submitted to the people. This particular branch of the controversy between the two parties has to be worked out in the newspapers and on the stump, and to them we may safely hand it over in the full assurance that the Democrats will, by next November, have got as good as they will have given.

There therefore only remains one point on which the Democratic party offers to do battle. Out of the hosts of principles which it has upheld one time or another during its long and checkered career; out of that vast collection of grievances which it has accumulated since 1860, and in describing which it borrows the language of the oppressed in the worst of past ages, it produces nothing worthy of being embodied in a positive proposition, and fought for at the election. It has no reform to call for; it does not offer to carry any reform out, either in the administration of the Government or in the machinery of the administration. It goes into the canvass simply to maintain the doctrine that, wherever in a national promise to pay money the word "coin" is not mentioned, the debt shall be paid in "lawful money of the United States"that is, another promise to pay issued by the same debtor — and that the representations made in explanation of the original instrument by the officers of the Goveriment, and the understanding of those who lent the money, and which has remained undisturbed for four years, shall count for nothing. Such a "battle-cry" as this coming from any political party would be singular enough; there was only one thing needed to make it by far the most singular battle-cry of history, and that was, that the party raising it should be a party which has always maintained that paper money issued by Government is not and cannot be "lawful money," and that, therefore, the currency in which it calls for the payment of Government debts is not simply inferior in value to coin, but has no value whatever; and this one thing the battle-cry in question has. The Democratic party, after many changes and reverses, at last takes the field in support of a compound swindle, made up partly of fraudulent bank ruptey and partly of uttering counterfeit

We know very well what satisfaction this extraordinary performance has given, and is giving, to the Republicans. The platform, combined with the character of the candidates who have been selected to stand upon it, seems to render Democratic success hopeless, unless, indeed, all principle and all honor have de serted the American people. The triumph, at the close of the war, of a party which put forth no claim to public confidence except its willingness in the richest country in the world to cheat the public creditor (we again repeat that all talk of "the letter of the law," in a discussion between a government and its creditors as to the rights of the latter, simply adds impudence to knavery), would indicate a degree of moral debasement which would certainly puzzle both preachers and philosophers, and would greatly increase the doubts and misgivings with which so many thoughtful and intelligent men are looking into the moral inture of the world. We have, we confess, no doubt whatever about the result of the election; but we shall not be satisfied with simple victory. Nobody who has watched the proceedings of the Convention, has seen the influences which controlled it, and knows anything o the men who managed it, or of the ideas of government which were dominant in it, and who believes that, once equality is established in a State, honesty must form the main element in its progress, will be content unless it is shown not only that a majority, but that an immense majority, of the people repudiate the party and its doctrines. The course things have taken in the last three months goes strongly to confirm the suggestion we have several times made that the basis of one party, at least in this country, would be rather ignorance and rascality than attachment to distinct and well-marked political ideas. At the Convention which has just adjourned no particular doctrine or principle which thoughtful men of any school of politics have produced or defended seemed to have any attrac tion or any authority. About all the great questions of government, the settled as well as the disputed, there was every indication either of ignorance or indifference. The thing which commanded most applause and secured heartiest concurrence was a small cheat from

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which nobedy in the room could expect to make over a few dollars, and for which no defense or apology can be decovered in the work of any statesman or moralist of any age or country, and yet it called forth the "williest enthusiasm." The following that these men can command in the United S ates should not only be a minority; it is the duty of all good men to see that it is a small minority.

The Coming Men of the South.

From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser. Some of the leading spirits of the Canadian rebellion conducted themselves with so much decorum, propriety, and discretion during the succeeding years that they recovered their lost ground, advanced in influence and preferment, and ultimately rose to high positions under the Government which they had endeavored to overthrow. In imitation of their example some of the leaders of our Rebellion are now pursuing a policy which, if persisted in, cau but redound to their great personal advantage, as well as to the peace and prosperity of those among whom they live. We allude to such men as ex-Governor Joseph Brown, of Georgia; General J. L. Alcorn, of Mississippi; General Longstreet, now of Louisiana; General Wickham, of Virginia; and Governor Orr, of South Carolina.

These late Confederates perceive that the "lost cause" is lost forever, and that motives of policy, if nothing more, should lead the vanquished to accept of the situation, and abide in good faith by the result of the appeal to the arbitrament of arms. They possess sufficient foresight and sagacity to know to at their erring countrymen cannot improve their condition by "kicking against the pricks," or endeavoring along with Hampton and Vance and Wise, to revive secession, and endeavor to achieve in the political arena, by the help of the Democratic party, what they failed to secure in the contest of blood.

Governor Orr, particularly, has revealed much moderation and sound sense in his farewell message to the people of South Carolina. And first he recognizes the supreme authority of the General Government as contrasted with the heresy of State rights. Whatever the national authority wills must be respected and obeyed. The remedy for unwholesome laws, if such there be must be found in the peaceful ballot, and not by a resort to Blair's revolutionary programme. "Whatever," he says, "may be my individual opinion as to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction acts, it was my duty to recognize their validity until pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States."

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